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Fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

ome D. Frank

ARMS AND THE MIND

Sid Lens — "DETERRENCE" ASSURES OUR DEFEAT

Richard E. Matera — A MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

Herbert Stroup — THE MILITARY AS THE CONTROLLING ELITE

Donald Soper — A RISK WITH CHRIST

John Nevin Sayre — WE SAW GREAT DAYS TOGETHER

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

ULLES

The widespread expressions of sympathy er John Foster Dulles' failure to win his ttle against cancer were an interesting ample of how the misfortune of an in- vidual somehow can capture the concern great numbers of people even while they main unaffected by vast misery all around em. Perhaps it is that the sudden striking wn of one of the world's most powerful en comes as a sobering reminder of how pty our pretensions are, and how limited r power to cope with the fact of our own rtality. All flesh *is* as grass, and the days our years are as the flicker of sunlight ross a shady pond. Our culture spends so uch effort at glossing over the realities of e that such intimations of mortality come th something of a shock.

It is not likely that a change of secretaries ll herald any significant changes in a reign policy that, as Sid Lens points out ewhere in this issue, is a policy of defeat d death. Foreign policies in the con- mporary world are set by those whose al is the accumulation and retention of wer. Peace will only be made by a policy ose goal is service.

CATCH UP AND SURPASS"

Increasing numbers of Americans in high aces are becoming disturbed these days er the prospect that the Russians seem ely to "catch up and surpass" the United ates in production. It is not simply the reat of increased production in war ma- rials, but in all sorts of consumer goods d services. The Soviets are producing ore doctors and other scientists than we e, one observer reports in alarm. An edu- tor notes with apprehension that there is teacher shortage in the Soviet Union spite a heavy emphasis on education. And as little as ten years, some experts fear, e Russian standard of living may actually gin to rival ours, give or take a tail-fin re or there.

The first reaction to this, it seems to us, ought to be well isn't that dandy! What's wrong with more doctors and teachers or a higher standard of living? Why should a nation luxuriating in comfort feel threatened by the likelihood that somebody else will be comfortable, too? And since, despite chauvinistic claims on all sides, scientific progress is an international thing, the increase in the number of scientists anywhere in the long run is likely to benefit all of mankind, n'est ce pas?

Unless, of course, our high standard of living is assumed to be built on the poverty of others, and unless scientific progress means primarily progress in devising more cruel instruments of death. But these are not the things men really want or believe, and they are not inevitabilities beyond our power to divert. We have a letter drafted which we should like to see President Eisenhower send after it has been suitably polished:

"Dear Mr. Khrushchev:

"We have been getting reports of the enormous strides the Soviet Union is making in science, education and the production of material goods. I want to send you my own congratulations and good wishes, and those of the American people, on these accomplishments.

"As you know, we have a pretty sizable productive capacity here ourselves. In fact, it's so big that we have had to devise something we call 'planned obsolescence' just to use up what we don't waste in military production. This kind of thing doesn't really appeal to us, though, and we have a new idea I want to share with you.

"Starting the first of next January, we're going to start getting rid of our military forces as rapidly as we can divert the energy and production they consume into a big world development plan. We believe we can work with the rest of the world to lift everybody's living standards way above what they now are.

"I'm writing to ask if you won't join us. Let's stop blowing things up and start building instead. I have to warn you, though, that we plan to push this thing along with the idea of the freedom of men to criticize

and disagree without being punished, which hasn't always been the case in your country, according to my advisors.

How about it?

"D. D. E."

MISCELLANY

Every editorial writer we've ever known keeps some little nest of notes for future comment, which periodically has to be cleaned out, brooded over, and discarded. In this painful process this month we came across a number of things, including some quotations, that seem worth recording even without comment.

For example, there was the chief of entomology at an Army medical laboratory, who announced the good news that even if all the other land creatures perish from the radiation loosed by an atomic war, the insects probably will survive to take over the earth. Seems the woodtick can shake off 100 times as much of the stuff as kills animals or humans.

Then there was the columnist in the *Indianapolis Times* who observed that three generals and an ex-adviser to a general had been appointed the President's "brain trust" on disarmament. "I have nothing but respect and admiration for all four men," he wrote, "but isn't it about like appointing four pacifists to the Joint Chiefs of Staff?"

Adlai Stevenson made this pungent comment on American life:

> "We do not slip into happiness. It is strenuously sought and earned. A nation glued to the television screen is not simply at a loss before the iron pioneers of the new collective society. It isn't even having a good time. No society ever spent as much as we do on drink and tranquilizers. Can we argue that this is evidence of universal fun?" A again, "All our talk—in diplomacy, strategy, in aid and trade . . . has been a depressing degree purely defensive. have offered aid not to help others but shield ourselves."

Which serves to introduce a descripti of the number of "continuously hung people in the world, a line of "men, wom and children . . . clothes ragged, fa pinched . . . many have sores on th bodies, or racking tubercular coughs . each hold an empty bowl," *and the l would extend 25 times around the ear* It's by Donald K. Faris, former mission and UN agricultural expert, in his bo *To Plow with Hope* (Harper).

On the other hand, a clipping from T *New York Times* recently inspired wri Cleveland Amory to explain at length that paper's Sunday *Magazine* how diffic is the plight of the millionaire these da A New Yorker with a bare million (2 without working), he explained, may hav net income after taxes of only $20,000, a said the man, "in New York you live lik peon on only $20,000."

Hopeful, though, was the AP dispa telling about the "tall, taciturn and fe less" sheriff of Kleburg County, Jim Scarborough, who "looks like the West lawman famed by fiction." In his 35 ye as a police officer Scarborough has ne carried a gun. "The way I see it," he s "there never was a problem that could solved by a six-shooter."

The sheriff has faced armed men rang from drunks to "killers."

"Somehow or other, I always got guns from them," he says. "If I'd had a g someone might have been killed."

A TRIBUTE TO DR. ALFRED G. FISK

by Robert Moon

Friends of Alfred G. Fisk gathered on April 19 for a memorial service in his honor. He had passed away two weeks previously at the age of 54, after an illness of several months. He had been a member of the National Council of the FOR on several different occasions.

Dr. Fisk earned his living as a professor of philosophy at San Francisco State College. He prepared for this position at Occidental College (Phi Beta Kappa), Un Theological Seminary and the Univer of Edinburgh (Ph.D.).

He gave his resources of time and fluence to many other important cau (1) He was the founder and first mini of Fellowship Church for All Peoples San Francisco. For several years he sha the leadership of this church with How Thurman. (2) He worked with the Am

ıs of Japanese Ancestry at the time of ir evacuation from the West Coast and en they returned. To many of them he s the symbol of the love and loyalty and ırage that should have characterized all ıericans in those days. (3) He helped to ak restrictive covenants in San Francisco ore the Supreme Court acted on this tter. (4) For many years he was the der of a succession of study tours to ıer continents. His travels took him ough 70 different nations. He read lely in preparation for these tours and anged significant interviews with politi- and cultural leaders. His lectures re-rting on these experiences were always mulating. Among his fellow travelers ıld sometimes be found his wife, Eleanor d their two children, Ellen and David.

Dr. Fisk could be counted on to give ponsible and creative leadership to every ıse designed to increase understanding tween nations and between the various tural groups within our own nation. He s well known for his informed and pro-tative participation in discussion panels radio and television.

He was an ordained minister of the esbyterian church and was frequently led upon to supply vacant pulpits. When was not preaching somewhere else, he uld be in church with his own family. ıe writer found him in his congregation regularly for several years. [Mr. Moon is pastor of the First Methodist Church of San Leandro.—Ed.] His presence was stimulating and his friendly suggestions were always constructive and helpful.

In 1949 Revell published his book, *The Search for Life's Meaning*. It is a rational presentation of the answers the Christian faith has found to some of the persistent questions asked by students about religion in an age of science.

His colleagues on the faculty at San Francisco State College recently announced the establishment in his honor of the "Alfred Fisk Prize Essay in the Humanities" in "recognition of the living concern for human values which has always characterized Dr. Fisk's teaching."

In 1948 he was a major prize winner in Drew Pearson's contest on "How to Make Democracy Live."

Visitors to his bedside during these last few weeks were reminded of the depth and breadth of his understanding. When his pain was intense, he frequently quoted Tennyson or St. Francis or the Bible. When he was more comfortable he was content to discuss philosophical ideas or world affairs. To one visitor he gave an unforgettable charge: "Carry on."

The day he passed away, Eleanor Fisk observed, "He is now on the most exciting tour of his career."

KARL BARTH SAYS NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The following is a translation of a letter by Karl Barth replying to an invitation to join in an anti-nuclear weapons conference in Belgium. It was published in Paix et Liberté, *a Belgian Protestant weekly in its issue of February 22, 1959. Translated for* Fellowship *by Marie Roser.*

Basel, Switzerland, January 7, 1959

Unfortunately it is impossible for me to ɛnd the Conference, but I am glad to ɛet the Members of the conference rough my friend Professor Fritz Lieb, and tell them that I approve fully of their ɛntions, and to convey to them my ıcere good wishes for the success of their liberations.

Hereunder follows my opinion on the estion under discussion:

1. In the course of recent years and from ɛ most varied sources the decisive argu-ɛnts exposing the injustice and the danger of atomic armament have been clearly stated and made known to everyone. He who had ears could hear.

2. Yet we find ourselves before a triple fact:

a. Your governments are certainly aware of the problem—they admit, or anyway do not deny, its seriousness—but nevertheless, they are determined to pursue and execute their fatal enterprise.

b. Even though our populations are secretly, and to a certain extent, also openly, deeply frightened by the definite threat bound to atomic armament, they

are not ready to develop an opposition, or even a determined resistance.

c. Cultured circles, and also a great many ecclesiastical circles, are willing to embark upon philosophical or theological discussions on the tragic fate of man living in the atomic age, or similar subjects, but they obstinately evade all concrete decision against atomic armament.

3. The reason for this inner contradiction resides everywhere in the fear of a supposedly greater threat directed against the most sacred values by the adversary who takes his stand on ideological grounds and world politics. It appears that people think it impossible to overcome this threat except by the counter-threat of atomic armament.

4. If it is impossible to annihilate this ideological and political opposition, as well as the reciprocal anxiety which it generates, it will be impossible to overcome the contradiction existing between the good knowledge and the bad practices of our governments, the majority of our peoples, our cultured world, and our Churches. And if this contradiction cannot be overcome, one will have to expect the ungodly and nefarious growth of atomic armament.

5. The first duty of those opposed to atomic armament should therefore consist in a renewed effort, devoid of any prejudice, to conquer this ideological and political opposition. In other words; opponents of atomic armament must adopt, and themselves witness to, a position devoid of this reciprocal anxiety, solely oriented toward God and toward authentic man.

6. Needless to say, opposition to atomic armament must continue all along the line (in every country and in every field in the manner required by the circumstances) independent of this great context, and therefore without taking into account the direct successes or failures.

7. A question arises—and it may be that the Conference will need to take a stand on it—that is, to decide whether, after so much talk on the subject, the time has not come to make this opposition more concrete, in the form of an active resistance, possibly in the shape of an open invitation to refuse to do any military service.

—KARL BARTH

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Sid Lens is a frequent contributor to FELLOWSHIP. A long-time socialist and labor official, he is also a serious student of world affairs. His latest book, *The Crisis of American Labor* (Sagamore Press, $4.95), was published last month. Next month, Lens embarks on a seven-week tour of Poland, the USSR and six other countries, conducting seminars on "comparative social systems." Last-minute inquiries about the tour will be forwarded to him by FELLOWSHIP.

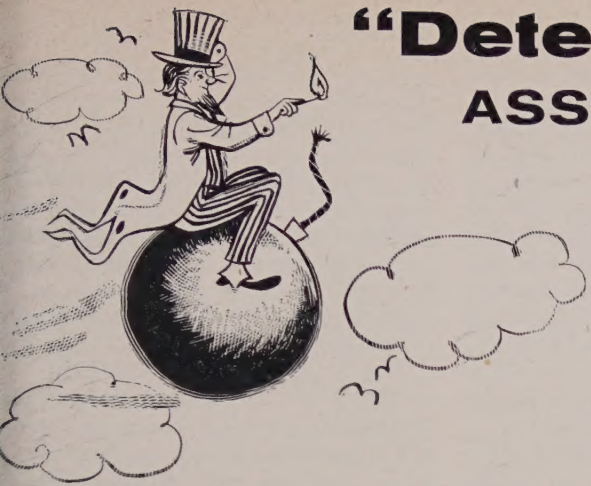
Donald Soper is a leader in the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, as well as minister of Kingsway Hall, a former president of the Methodist Church in England and one of the "Christians in the Arena" about whom Allan Hunter wrote in his popular book of that title. "A Risk With Christ" is reprinted from the British FOR publication, *New Age for Peace*, copies of which are available from FELLOWSHIP at 50¢ each.

Richard E. Matera is pastor of the Central Congregational Church in Orange, Massachusetts. His "Memorial Day Address" was read from the pulpit on Memorial Day, 1956, and is no less relevant today than it was then.

Herbert Stroup is an FOR member and the dean of students at Brooklyn College.

Jerome D. Frank holds Ph.D. and M.D. degrees from Harvard and is associate professor of psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, where his research interest has centered on psychotherapy.

John Nevin Sayre is an Episcopalian clergyman who has been active in the Fellowship of Reconciliation since the First World War, as an editor of FELLOWSHIP's predecessor, *The World Tomorrow*, as co-secretary and as national chairman. He is at present co-treasurer of the International FOR and the responsible executive in arranging speaking engagements for IFOR leaders from abroad in the U.S.



"Deterrence" ASSURES OUR Defeat

BY SID LENS

VER SINCE the cold war began, the United States has barricaded itself ind a papier-mâché theory of "deter-ce." Put simply, the theory holds, first, American military superiority, if it be maintained, is our primary defense nst communist aggression; and second, this military superiority will defend status quo against communism until time as the roll-back of the Soviet em begins. It is assumed that this roll-k is inevitable.

merican policy, under both the Demo-s and the Republicans, has lived in the e that communism will eventually dis-ear—if only we can deter it long ugh through military threat. In August 3, a State Department memo articu-d this policy unmistakably: "The ted States holds the view," it stated, it Communism's rule in China is not manent and that it one day will pass. withholding diplomatic recognition n Peking it seeks to hasten that pass-" There is little doubt that this esti-e holds also for the Soviet Union and central European nations under its mb. Our government seems to believe communism cannot survive, that all is needed is patience and military rrence to bring about its eventual nfall.

his basic premise of American foreign cy is not only false but fatal. Its con-uation not only offers no hope of vic-, but actually assures America's decline great power.

From 1947 until two or three years ago, the United States had an absolute military advantage over Russia. We had a storehouse of atomic bombs at a time when Russia was groping to produce her first nuclear weapon. We had the military might to wipe out all of her cities if we had so desired.

But Russia remained undeterred.

Admittedly it did not attack the Western world with military force. But it won one bastion after another. It consolidated its power, rising from a minority force to a near-equal of the Western alliance. In 1949 China went communist, despite American "deterrence," despite the $3 billion in aid, mostly military, to Chiang Kai-shek. Czechoslovakia executed a political coup, removing officials like Benes who were friendly to the West and converting that nation to full satellite status. Northern Viet Nam went communist. Communist influence penetrated Indonesia and the Middle East. Despite our overwhelming military power, North Korea remained communist; we were unable to subdue it. Communist guerrilla forces, it is true, lost out in Greece—but because Tito defected from the Russian orbit, not because of our "deterrence."

The argument can be made, of course, that if the United States had not been so strong militarily, the Soviets would have overrun more of the world than they have. But this thesis is flimsy. Russia has not committed a single troop in all these victories. It used troops in East Germany in

1953 and in Hungary in November 1956, but it should be noted that even here America's known military superiority did not "deter." Russia has concentrated essentially on political conquest, attempting to turn every social upheaval to her advantage—in China, the Middle East, Southeastern Asia, Africa—rather than committing her armies to battle. Such social rebellions, post-war history proves all too adequately, cannot be deterred by military threat. The overwhelming superiority of the French army in Algeria, for instance, does not prevent 50,000 native guerrillas from tying down 400,000 French troops, equipped with the finest weapons.

Military "deterrence" might be effective if Russia were attempting to penetrate other nations by military means. But this has not been Russia's main approach. On the contrary, she eschews military entanglement, concentrating at least 90 per cent on the social front. We are thus outflanked strategically, because we are preparing for the wrong kind of war—very much as France, with her Maginot Line complex, prepared for a World War I type of war while the Nazis were developing the radically different blitzkrieg warfare. Similarly, today Russia uses social revolution as its major instrument of conflict as a means of outflanking Western military superiority. She attempts simultaneously to achieve military parity, in case hostilities should break out on a total scale, but this is decidedly secondary to her main offensive in the social field.

So far this strategy of the Russians has been highly effective. We of the West have been incapable of challenging it. The more we prepare for the wrong type of conflict (military), the more Russia can win the actual social conflicts—either by gaining full allies such as China, by gaining partial allies, such as Iraq or Indonesia, or by neutralizing nations out of our orbit of influence.

The Decline of U.S. Power

Those who argue for "deterrence" must concede that the victor in the cold war so far has been Russia. Soviet influence has expanded, not only in the communist area but in the uncommitted section of the globe and among neutralists. American
fluence, though it has made such mi
gains as restoring the Shah in Iran
eliminating Arbenz in Guatemala,
clearly declined. The SEATO pact is
obvious failure; the Baghdad Pact has
its pivotal support, Iraq; the Eisenho
policy has been incapable of holding
Middle East for the West; and even
Latin America the new regimes in Cu
Venezuela and elsewhere tend to d
away from the U.S. in the direction
neutralism.

The supporters of "deterrence"
myopic if they do not see this decline
American power. Those who are object
will concede this point, but they insist t
in the long run military power will d
further expansion, and ultimately Russ
communism—and that of its satellites
allies, like Red China—will crumble.

No one who supports the "deterren
theory is specific on this latter point.
one is willing to predict just *how* Ru
will crumble. Will the U.S. wait fo
moment of confusion and internal strife
attack the Soviet Union militarily? T
would be another form of the "prevent
war" theory which is not heard too o
since the Kremlin has evidently achie
equal or near-equal status with the U.S
hydrogen bombs and missiles. It is a fu
concept at best; it assumes that some
Russia will be beset by such turmoil t
its military will be incapable of push
the buttons to send intercontinental ba
tic missiles to destroy our American ci
It assumes further that the U.S. will
solidly unified, capable of delivering
military death-blow. This is a fanciful dre
that militarists have dreamed since t
immemorial, before and after each
But it does not conform to present reali

The fact is that the Western allia
itself is tenuous. Many of our allies
rather tired of cold war tensions. Al
none are making their expected mili
contributions to NATO or SEATO or
of the other pacts which suppose
guarantee our "security." At the same ti
the Eastern alliance has its internal schi
but it is by no means in danger of up
ing. From year to year the Soviet orbit
comes stronger—militarily, economic
and to some extent politically. It is

e, of course, that Communism may
er, may suffer internal schism.
ut history indicates that that most re-
itions, harsh and tyrannical though
may be, tend to survive such shocks.
instance, the many wars and crises
f the French Revolution did not result
a return to power of the old feudal
ses of France. Metternich of Austria
the Spanish leaders lived in hopes
a century and a half ago, that the
italist revolution would erupt from
ain and disappear. But it didn't. In-
d Spain and Austria disappeared as
at powers.
ll the evidence indicates that Commu-
n too will not disappear; it will only
nge from within by the same slow,
uous process by which similar aggressive
vements have changed in the past. It
probably be beset by defection such as
t of Titoism, by
aceful revolutions"
h as Poland in Oc-
er 1956, by violent
olts such as Hun-
y in 1956, by spon-
eous strikes such as
t Berlin in 1953.
a society with
re than a billion in-
itants does not dis-
ear, except through
r—and sometimes
even that way. It
and will evolve, but it can hardly dis-
ear.

The Rise of Counter-Deterrence

ven from the military viewpoint "de-
ence" has been a failure. It has only
elerated counter-deterrence and has re-
ed finally in an international stale-
e in which neither power can, or in the
seeable future, will be able to gain
olute superiority.
Russia has built a machine which, if we
to believe Defense Secretary McElroy,
not be as great in its destructive power
that of the United States. But it has
ned far closer to American might than
envisioned a few years ago. Objective
lear scientists know that in the last five
rs each of the two powers has become
capable of absolute or near-absolute destruction of the other. Whether we attack Russia or Russia attacks us first; whether we gain the advantage by destroying most of her cities and most of her population at one fell blow, or she ours, the fact is that retaliatory power is so great and so planned that, even in defeat, the defeated nation can automatically unleash the weapons to effectively destroy the other power. Our military leaders tell us that if the Soviets were to obliterate most of our big cities and most of our bases in the first wave of attack, we would have sufficient armed planes in the air, sufficient nuclear-armed submarines around the world to obliterate Russia just as thoroughly. It is certain that Russia today is similarly prepared and similarly capable of total destruction even if she loses her major cities and armed stations. It is clear that you can only destroy a nation once. The ability to destroy it twice or ten times is obviously redundant.

Militarily, then, the "deterrence" theory has only resulted in counter-deterrence and now, after this sharpest arms race in all history, in total deterrence. Neither power, short of being willing to commit suicide, can deter the other. Put differently, both powers deter the other. After a decade and a half, nothing has been gained by deterrence—even militarily. Nothing can be gained in the future by it. It did not work to begin with; it certainly cannot work in the future. It did not contain communism when our might was superior; it cannot contain it now when we are near-equal.

A World in Revolution

Looking beyond the military aspect, however, it becomes clear that emphasis on *military* "deterrence" has had the effect of weakening our ability for *political* deterrence. And since it is here, in the political field, that communism has won its major victories, this failure is the outstanding reason for our cold-war setbacks.

We are living in a world in revolution. Twenty-one nations have won their independence since the end of World War II and are in the midst of fundamental social change. The ideals of these revolutions are little different from the ideals that motivated our own forefathers in 1776. They are revolts against colonialism, feudal landlordism, private law (as against equality before the law), and restrictive economies. Each revolution upsets the world status quo and the balance of world power. Yesterday's ally must be won over and over again, as regimes topple. A military base in Iraq, where yesterday's government was friendly to the West, becomes worthless when a new government comes to the fore that is unfriendly to the West. It can actually become a base *against* us.

The United States and the Status Quo

The tragedy of relying on military deterrence is that it has forced us to defend the status quo in a world where the status quo is changing more rapidly and more extensively than at any time in world history. Our military looks for "strong" governments as allies, so that it can build airports and military installations in Pakistan, Iraq, Spain, Formosa, etc. Our great corporations look for "strong" governments, such as that of Ibn Saud in Saudi Arabia, so that they can be assured of profits up to five times as large as they could earn with similar investments back home. The result is that our State Department, expressing the inherent logic of this power elite, puts its support behind reactionary and dying regimes. Because of the military position of Spain, the United States has given more than a billion dollars to a fascist government despite the fact that the United States ostensibly fought World War II in order to destroy fascism. Tomorrow, when the democratic forces inside Sp —who have been waiting a generation overthrow Franco—succeed, they will member our help to their enemy.

Throughout Europe, Asia, Africa Latin America, our propaganda for dem racy is considered hypocritical because support men like Franco, Rhee, Chi Kai-shek, Nuri as-Said, Batista, Perez J inez and the dictators of Pakistan. Beca Pakistan offers us military bases we h given that country aid of approxima $9 per capita, as against only 35c or for India, which offers us no bases does offer us the greatest hope for turn back the world communist tide. If Ind economic development, based on its po cal democracy, co be made more cessful than the C nese Communist de opment, which depe on compulsion and talitarian methods, whole underdevelo world would turn our direction. But emphasis on *mili* deterrence makes impossible. Pakistan comes more import for us than India, millions of intellect who yesterday looke the Declaration of I pendence as their con, now turn to Communist Manif or at least towards "plague-on-both-y houses" of neutralism. As America loses attractiveness as the polestar of freed more and more nations turn toward *modus vivendi* with Russia.

Famous Last Words: "But you don't understand, old chap—it's not a weapon, it's a **de-ter-rent.** . . ."

We Support Tottering Dictators

The policy of military "deterrence" cost us our predominant position in Middle East. Except for Israel, the co tries that were under western influe only a decade ago are now either neu ists or pro-Russian. By supporting status quo we have gained the enmity the revolutionaries in these countries

e toppled the status quo. Similarly we
ground in North Africa, in Latin
erica, in Asia as the status quo we de-
l continues to erupt in an inexorable
olution. Eventually, if we continue this
cy we will be completely isolated, for
status quo cannot—and should not—
defended.

he billions we have spent in Spain,
istan and elsewhere must become
thless as these regimes fall. Our bases
Morocco are already being threatened.
bases everywhere else are tenuous be-
e the regimes they rely on are tenuous.
n in Japan, where the regime is rela-
y stable, our bases are in jeopardy be-
e of the hostility of the people.

ll these countries
me potential al-
for the Russians
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tralized areas. The
ets support the
-status quo in the
erdeveloped areas.
y succeed there-
in removing
y allied nations
potential allies
n our orbit of in-
nce. The Soviets,
ite their totalitarian internal character,
ort non-communist democracies such
India against dictatorships such as
stan; they do not try to straddle the
e as we do. They appear to the world
arge as the leaders of the rebellion
nst the status quo, while we appear as
ain prop.

Lessons of China and Iraq

he results can be predicted with abso-
accuracy. The very guns we now ship
ur status quo allies will someday turn
n the communist ledger, or at least on
neutralist side. This is what happened
China. We gave $3 billion in aid to
ng and a corrupt regime; the commu-
Chinese gave Chiang's soldiers and
le a revolutionary salestalk and won
not only millions of these men to its
ner but much of the equipment we
supplying to Chiang.

he millions in military aid we have
n to Nuri as-Said's Iraq are now lost to us. They will either not be used at all in a future conflict, or they will be used by the communist world against us.

Russia has been winning the cold war because it correctly understands that the arena of battle is the political, that the military is distinctly subordinate. We have been losing the cold war because we have been placing our emphasis on the military.

There are some who feel that there must be a *balance* between our military and our political effort, that we must increase our political offensive while maintaining our present military posture.

The trouble with this theory is that it is impossible to achieve in a democratic country. We must emphasize one or the other; we cannot emphasize both. The U.S. military, expanding as it has—for the first time, incidentally, after a major war—has become not only an external arm of security but an *internal political force* as well. The military today is business' biggest customer. It has formed an alliance with its big business customers and has become the fulcrum not only of external policy but of internal policy as well. It lobbies for its position throughout society and especially in the press and in Congress. It works incessantly to transform the nation into an obedient military adjunct. The wave of conformity that besets America stems directly from military needs. If America is to be ever-prepared for military retaliation it must be ever-disciplined. It must be obedient rather than free.

The policy of military deterrence ends up not only in support of the status quo abroad, but the status quo at home. The military, and its big business allies, stand four square against social reform, against non-conformity. The elan of the military is based on defending privilege, the status quo, corporate enterprise, institutionalization of American society.

To change our external policy from primary emphasis on the military to primary emphasis on the political, or even

to a measured balance between the two, means first of all to curb the military-business power *internally,* to reverse the trend of the past decade and a half. It involves a major change in our internal power relationships. It can be effected only *against* the military and against the military elan. It cannot be done through any united front with the military, or any peace pact with its social elan.

To maintain its power this conservative alliance has been spoon-feeding the nation false and unreal axioms. The military, starved for power after World War II, has created the false image of communism as primarily a military and conspiratorial enemy, when in reality communism is a derivative of the major "enemy"—hunger, illiteracy, ignorance, in the underdeveloped section of the globe. Communism is primarily a political enemy. The Soviets intend to defeat us by essentially political rather than military means.

To assure large defense budgets, the military needs permanent crises. Each difference with the Russians must be magnified to crisis proportions. Each Russian offer must be dismissed as ultimatistic and inflexible. The military needs a tense nation, ever fearful that war might break out immediately.

In recent years the citizenry has become concerned over the danger of total annihilation. This has posed another problem for the military bloc. It must maintain tension but at the same time take steps to reassure the people. Increasingly therefore it speaks of the need for massive power to deter big wars, while advising the nation that it intends only to use that power in limited wars. But this is a dangerous fiction. Some wars, it is true, stay limited. There have been eighteen such wars, mostly of a revolutionary nature, since the end of War II. But some limited wars can become unlimited. The "limited" Balkan wars before World War I eventually became the unlimited World War I. The "limited" Nazi aggressions, the war in Ethiopia, the civil war in Spain, all before World War II, eventually also became unlimited. At a certain point the status quo is so altered that one or the other side feels compelled to take total steps to defend its position. If that status quo alters against us to the point where it favors total political victory of communism, military will probably insist on total as a last resort. Similarly with the Russi if the status quo alters against them to point where their power is comple jeopardized they too will be beset by p sures for total war. There is very defini a risk of unlimited war in pursuing policy of "limited wars." Historically i an absolute risk; it cannot be otherwis

Toward a New Policy

The alternative is to reverse the mili istic tide, for the policy of deterrence only does not deter, it assures Ameri defeat. It assures the decline of the Un States to a second-rate power—provi it can exist at all.

The alternative is slowly to change arena of conflict from the military to political.

That involves basically two comple tary courses of action. First, the U.S. become engaged in the revolution of ri expectations—both abroad and here home. It must pursue a policy of ai the democratic revolution abroad and celerating the process of social reform at home. Second, the U.S. must seek engagement through sincere negotiat from military trouble spots, as well progressive steps towards disarmament.

America stands at the threshold o fourth great turning point. The first the American Revolution, which made great nation possible. The second was Civil War, which laid the foundatio our great industrial machine. The t was the New Deal and its controlled talism, which preserved the nation wh was foundering at the brink of ruin each point we would have been eclips a major power if we had not taken necessary turn.

The fourth turning point is the gre challenge of all. If we are to survive we must complete our own Amer Revolution at home and help other pe emulate it abroad.

Our military deterrence policy is only weak, not only lopsided, thoroughly unrealistic. It is the w answer to the present world situation.

A Memorial Day Address

BY RICHARD E. MATERA

ROM THE BEGINNING of time, man has had a choice before him. Down through ages, man has had a choice before him. en God first made Himself known in lives of those great forbears of our istian religion, the Hebrew patriarchs, aham, Isaac and Jacob, man had a ice before him. At the time of Christ, had that same choice. And down ugh the centuries to this day we still that selfsame choice: the choice be- n meaning and emptiness, between joy misery, between life and death, be- n heaven and hell. God does not will we go to hell. Neither does He force nto heaven. The choice is always and nally ours.

few years ago, a U.S. Congressman : "When I witnessed the A-Bomb ex- ion tests at Eniwetock, I had the feel- that I was standing at the gates of hell ing into eternity." We are not here y to contemplate the gates of hell. are not here today to talk about en g the gates of hell. We are not here y to give in to the inevitability of We are not here today to make pretty ches on how nice it would be to have e. We are not here today to pay tribute fty million war dead since the begin- of World War I with lofty phrases t a peace which we don't really be- we are going to get. If we were here y to do these things, I submit to you we would be perpetrating an unholy race on the memory of those who died. e are here today to assert and declare commit ourselves to the true patri- n, the only true patriotism, the only iotism left: and that is, total renuncia- of war as an instrument of national cy. "In Korea, one million soldiers on sides, and easily a like number of ians maimed or dead; a nation gutted, nothing settled, no issue decided. . . . This emphasizes the utter futility of modern war, its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissentions." If this sounds like the words of a preacher speaking in the realm of politics and world affairs where he doesn't belong, it is not. These are the words of General Douglas MacArthur spoken a few years ago. "War is now outmoded as an instrument of national policy, it provides no solutions . . . and only threatens both sides with mutual national suicide," the General went on to say. Furthermore, he continued, "You cannot control war. You can only abolish it."

We have progressed from clubs to rifle to cannon to bomb to nuclear weapons. And where has it got us? To the brink of race suicide. We have even sought to control war by rules. Yet each war becomes increasingly savage, with atrocities on both sides. I know what I saw personally in World War II in Europe. I saw atrocities committed by our side as well as by the other.

What has happened to our world, this good world that God has given us? What has happened is this: We have served Mammon, the god of materialism, and Mars, the god of war, while we said that we were serving the Lord God Almighty. And we have proven, by the chaotic, tottering, frightened nature of the world in which we live today, that you cannot serve God and Mammon, that you cannot serve God and Mars.

Disgrace to the war dead? This is all a disgrace to them and a disgrace before God: that our world, far from being a world of peace for which they fought, is still a world of hunger, suffering, poverty, despair, and death. The life expectancy in Southeast Asia is twenty-seven, as contrasted to seventy-two in our country for

women and sixty-nine for men. Of two and a half billion people inhabiting this planet, one and a half billion never know what it is, from birth to death, to have enough to eat. We have been here in this hall for one hour. During this hour three thousand people in this world have died of sheer starvation. This is the kind of world we live in. A world of peace? Hardly.

Or look at this: all the money of World War II would have bought for every family in the world a new six-room home and a new car; and for every community of more than ten thousand, a new hospital and a new high school. Ninety percent of our federal income tax goes to pay for wars past and future. This leaves only ten percent for all other purposes, *e.g.*, Health, Education, etc. The H-bombs we are still exploding have the force of millions of tons of TNT. We are not morally equipped to play with this kind of fire, any more than a young child would be allowed to run down Main Street with a machine gun.

Our nation is a great nation. Materially and technologically it is the greatest in the history of civilization. But technology, a fantastically high standard of living, and a stockpile of sleek bombs are not enough. "Peace is for the strong!" "If we make America stronger, we will have the peace we are all looking for," say the ads urging us to buy U.S. Savings Bonds. My friends, if this were so, I would preach every Sunday. Buy bonds—if this would bring us peace, the real peace of God that passeth all understanding, the peace of which the prophet Isaiah spoke seven hundred years before Christ when he said, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." —If this were so, if it would bring peace, making America strong. But it will not, and it is a deeply tragic illusion to think that it will. Peace is not for the militarily strong. There have been many militarily strong powers in the history of the race, and they have gone down. Peace is for the morally and spiritually strong.

MacArthur has said it: war has failed, at tremendous cost in blood, to solve our problem. Christian Herter said it in the 1956 Memorial Day Proclamation: "What is asked of us is full dedication to a great cause in their name: world-wide nunciation of the cruel judicature of w Einstein has said it; in referring to " stark, dreadful, inescapable" facts of H-Bomb, which he has termed "the essence of evil." His word on this wh matter is very clear and direct: "Stop w or face extinction." Eisenhower has sai in referring to the absolute necessity what? The military strength of our co try? No. The absolute necessity of moral and spiritual regeneration of if we are to avoid wiping ourselves f the face of the earth. Churchill has sai "We seem to be moving . . . against will . . . toward some hideous catastro Everybody wishes to stop, but they do know how."

God's Way to Peace

Of course we know how. Again quo MacArthur, ". . . the real enemies of p are those who lack . . . the courage and vision . . . to try a new approach"—an proach, incidentally, now given to great nation to try; our nation, by vicissitudes of history, thrust into its ent role of world leadership. And w does MacArthur say that new approac The approach of the Cross. But wha new about the Cross of Christ? Wha new about the Truth of God? What is about the Spirit of God? Zechariah, prophet, in 500 B.C., declared, "Not might nor by power, but by My Sp saith the Lord." There is nothing here. It only seems a new approach cause we haven't tried it.

Do you want to be true to those died? Do you want to be an instrun of real peace? Then go back to Churches! Go back to your Synagog Go back to God! Get on your knees fore Him. Thank Him for the abund with which our country has been ble Thank him for the abundance of own life. Be humble before Him. T ask Him to use you as an instrument of your own little concepts of peace, as an instrument of His peace. If you do that, there is no problem in this w great or small, which you and God gether cannot solve.

THE MILITARY AS THE Controlling Elite

BY HERBERT STROUP

N CONTRAST WITH August Comte's view that in the final or positivistic stage of tory reason will rule and violence in all forms will be subjected to humane val-s, recent years have given evidence of clear and significant trend toward army ntrol of nations. The impact of such ntrol upon the international political uation has so far not been analyzed in pper detail. The implications of such le for the development of democratic cial relations is far from understood. The pspect for peace in a world largely ruled military leaders is problematic, to say least.

In view of current trends, a brief re-w of the recent record of the military in order.

In November 1958, democracy was abro-ed in the Sudan by a military junta der General Ibrahim Abboud, Com-nder-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He sted the elected government of Premier dulla Khalil and assumed supreme pow-only three years after the country had ured its independence from Anglo-Egyp-n rule.

Only a few weeks before General Ab-ud's *coup d'état,* General Mohammed ub Khan had taken over the elected civil vernment of Pakistan.

General Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief the Military Forces in Burma, assumed leadership of the Burmese Government October 1958, as a result of an agree-nt by political leaders who were unable maintain a coherent political program. During the same month, Field Marshal it Thanarat, head of the Armed Forces Thailand, dismissed the government, tore up the nation's constitution, and began running the country as an unquestioned military ruler.

In the same season, the considerable military control of Indonesia by General Abdul Haris Nasution, Army Chief of Staff, was strengthened by the extension of the emergency regulations in that country. These continued the Parliament as an ineffectual debating club, and reduced the presidentially appointed cabinet to the status of a vague and uninfluential administrative civics class.

More familar to Americans than the above-mentioned instances was the assumption in July 1958 by General Karim el-Kassem of the military dictatorship of Iraq. Although the obscure and withdrawn general seems to be having his difficulties with both the Nasserites and the Communists, his position of power basically has remained unchallenged.

Earlier in the year, independent Syria merged with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. The Republic is managed by the quasi-military domination of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. Indeed, Colonel Nasser is the pioneer of military leaders in the recent years. He seized power from Major-General Mohammed Naguib, who served briefly as chief of state following the overthrow of King Farouk in 1952.

A Worldwide Trend

The attainment of political power by the military in the Middle East and Asia comprises one of the most significant and far-reaching trends of modern times. Furthermore, within those countries which have

not recently come under the influence of the military class, such as the Soviet Union, Communist China, certain South American countries, etc., the power of the military has been increased in relation to other segments of national life. Perhaps the eminent position of the military in such nations is understandable and even inevitable, in the light of the fact that approximately 50% of the national budget is spent for military activities.

Even the United States and France have generals in the top position. While no one would claim that either of these countries is under the control of the military, still a factor in the selection of both leaders was their renown as generals.

At any rate, the military almost everywhere seems to be in the ascendancy. Since last summer, generals have taken control of the governments of six countries: Burma, Iraq, Pakistan, Lebanon, Sudan, and Thailand. The total number of generals heading governments in the non-communist world is now sixteen. Not all of them, of course, represent dictatorships.

The Colonial Background

The exact reasons for the present swing to army rule vary from country to country, yet certain factors common to most of the countries may be suggested. Nearly all, for example, possess a background of colonial or semi-colonial control. It may be argued that colonialism inhibits the development of political maturity and a sense of responsibility among the indigenous leaders. To a large degree, native leaders are accustomed to being in opposition to their colonial masters. When they find themselves in positions of responsibility, they scarcely know how to formulate and implement a constructive program of political leadership. The fact is, moreover, that the native leaders often were not given significant roles in the colonial governments. They were accustomed to subordination and to the neutralizing effects of large-scale bureaucracy.

The political traditions in these countries, both before and during the colonial period, were often openly despotic rather than democratic. It is true that oftentimes the western colonial nations sought to establish and develop democratic institutions, but it may be claimed that such institutio had not existed long enough for them have genuinely taken root. In other stances, the inculcation of democratic the by the colonial powers was offset in its fectiveness by clear violations in the pr tice of their leaders. Authoritarianis moreover, in a very large part of the wo has never been looked upon as a key e The primary question has been: Who c trols the means of authoritarianism?

The Economic Pattern

Another striking factor in the rise of t military is the fact that nearly all of t countries are economically undevelop Many have illiterate, poverty-stricken, de populations in which only a small numb can express their human needs and aspi tions through effective democratic proc ures. In many instances, the masses exp to be controlled and even exploited b small upper class. The striking lack of extensive, well-developed middle class these countries goes hand-in-hand with t depressed conditions of the masses and t authoritarian role of the elite. Politi therefore, is not primarily an instrume for the improvement of the economic w fare of the masses. It is a "game" in whi a variety of upper-class leadership groups for absolute power. Although the milit governments of recent vintage have decla their interest in extending educational pr ileges, improving agriculture, developi extensive industries, reforming governme eliminating graft, and securing other l mane benefits associated with the extensi of democratic life, their achievements se to be meager, as judged even by a gros flexible standard of expectancy. Colo Nasser of Egypt, for example, seems to more interested in his international pol cal position, both in the Middle East a in the struggle between East and West, th he is in the genuine improvement of conditions of his people.

It may be argued that the military lea is understandably influenced by his tra ing and outlook to be concerned with int national political affairs which appear him to be threats to the military secu of his nation. There is little in military e cation which would give intelligent ho

the vigorous implementation of demo-tic social goals for these nations. From ie to time, however, some clear gain is ured, as in the case of Egypt, where some ucation has been provided for the masses. must be admitted also that due to the st-West conflict, some, if not all, of the litary-led countries have an authentic ba-for anxiety about their national existence. n the countries that they lead, the mili-y control the largest, best-equipped, best-ined, and strongest organizations. By the y nature of military organization, their ces are most clearly powerful. Their nopoly over the means of violence also ces them in a very strong political posi-n. In certain instances, the military lead-hip is vigorous and nationally concerned, its which are not apparent to such a de-e among the traditional aristocracies, ich are often weak and corrupt.

Americans need to remember, further-re, that democracy, as it has developed the United States, is seldom the democ-y which is known or practiced in other ts of the world. Plato called democracy 'charming form of government full of iety and disorder, and dispensing a sort equality to equals and unequals alike." ile the United States has known the sorders" of democracy to some extent, would-be democratic nations of the rld have experienced them even more ngently and tragically. The situation of ich the English historian, Thomas Mac-ay, wrote in a letter to an American end, describing the possible course of ional development for the United States, ow clearly pertinent to the underdevel-ed countries which rely upon military dership. In this letter, mentioned several nths ago by Allen W. Dulles, Director the Central Intelligence Agency, Mac-ay expressed the view that "institutions rely democratic must, sooner or later, troy both liberty, or civilization, or h." He predicted that when New Eng-d became as thickly populated as Old gland, its institutions would be sorely ed. He said that "when in the state of w York, a multitude of people, none of om has had half a breakfast or expects have more than half a dinner, choose legislature, there will be, I fear, spolia-n. The spoliation will increase the dis-tress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you; your Constitution is all sail and no anchor."

Macaulay continued by stating: "Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth—with this difference, that the Huns and the Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions." It is apparent that Macaulay's description has been far from a reality in the history of the United States. But there are elements in his description which clearly pertain to those nations which are currently undergoing forms of military revolution and dictatorship.

Exceptions to the Trend

If democracy in the military-led countries has collapsed because its roots were shallow, its practices ill-adapted to traditional patterns, and its leadership inadequate to cope with the monumental problems it faced, it is gratifying to note that the Philippines and India are notable exceptions to the military pattern. It well may be that in these countries a more effective bureaucracy has been inherited from colonial days. Also, the spread of education may be more extensive. Certainly in the case of India the nonviolent tradition of Gandhi and his followers may well have a bearing on the lack of a highly developed military group. In the case of India, moreover, the fact that the Congress Party under Jawaharlal Nehru has been an extensive, unifying and effective political force has obviated the need for any other dominant control.

The military class is not everywhere dominant in the new nations. Those of Africa, for example, show considerable variety in the nature of their ruling class, but these unfortunately represent exceptions to the general trend, which is toward numerous small, insecure, poverty-stricken, illiterate, formerly colonial, striving nations currently looking to the military elite or to a military dictator for their salvation.

A RISK WITH CHRIST

BY DONALD SOPER

I CANNOT THINK of anything that is so necessary today as to recover our belief in the capacity of ordinary people to secure the highest benefits of justice and goodness, and the ultimate blessings of peace. Jesus entrusted the task of carrying on His work to a few simple people, and yet through these first believers the mighty Roman Empire was transformed. If for a sufficiently high motive ordinary people refused to fight, there would be no wars.

Most people get what they really want. It is my experience that the only kind of dynamic that is really effective is that which is concentrated and absolute. Jesus said "Seek and ye shall find." He did not say "Take a dilettante interest in peace and be casually in favor of goodwill." Many men have given their lives in war. Are you prepared to give your very soul for peace?

Peace comes as a miracle. It comes when previously impregnable defenses of evil are overthrown by a new dynamic. It comes when an entirely new situation develops, or a new force is generated.

Every great nation, including our own, is waiting for someone else to give the lead in disarmament, but neither side trusts the other enough to begin the process. The fact is that most people are not trustworthy, or love-worthy or peace-worthy, but they are the very people whom we have to trust and love, and toward whom we have to act peaceably. This is what our Lord did himself. He did not wait for people to repent; He died for them while they were yet sinners. Would there have been a Christian faith had it been otherwise?

This is the Gospel as I understand it. We cannot tell what will happen. We know that we have to do what is rig today and believe that by doing so we w create a new situation in which tomorr will be transformed. In political terms means that the people of this count should call upon the government to what is right, no matter what other cou tries may do. Our Lord has shown us th this is the only way by which the vicio circle of evil can be broken. Let th country which is still a great power, a which professes to be Christian, say: "W will have done with the making and te ing of nuclear weapons and with all t wasteful and dangerous business of arm ments." Given a clear and unmistakab lead the common people of this count would act in a way that would shake t world. To those who say this is too gre a risk I answer: I would rather take a ri with Christ than take the risk of missin with the so-called realists, the only oppo tunity of peace in the world.

The New Testament tells us that t Gospel is first about the Kingdom of G and only secondly about ourselves. I b lieve that a large section of the Christi Church is at this moment apostate, b cause it has forsaken the search for t Kingdom of God to concern itself wi persuading people that they can have t

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION ——►

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.